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50 Arguments in
FAVOR of Sustaining
and ENFORCING the
Mass. Anti-Liquor Law.-

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FIFTY ARGUMENTS
IN FAVOR OF
SUSTAINING AND ENFORCING
THE MASSACHUSETTS
ANTI-LIQUOR LAW.

27-3



Effects of a Repeal

BY REV. RUFUS W. CLARK.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

It is my purpose, in this little manual, to present, in a direct and concise form, the prominent arguments in favor of the Massachusetts Anti-Liquor Law. To enlarge upon and elaborate each specification, or to record the reflections, which the facts presented obviously suggest, would tend to defeat my object, which is, to reach, and if possible influence, the various classes in society. For there is not a moral or political question within the range of legislative authority, in which the rich and the poor, and those of every age and rank in society, are so deeply interested as in this. It is, more than any other, vitally connected with the public health and morals, with the security of property and human life, and with the progress of humanity and religion.

All intelligent, wise, and good men unite in the opinion that the traffic in ardent spirits is the cause of more than three fourths of the pauperism, crime, and wretchedness with which society is afflicted ; that it is more destructive to human life than war, famine, pestilence, and fire combined ; that it sends its miserable victims to the grave in far greater numbers than the legions of Cæsar ever fell upon the battle field, or the armies of Napoleon were ever sacrificed to his cruel ambition. We are ready to prove, that this traffic violates every dictate of humanity, every principle in morals, every law in the decalogue, every obligation that an enlightened man is under to promote the welfare of his fellow-men and the honor of God ; that it impedes the progress of civilization,

weakens the force of Christianity, and renders abortive many other reforms. We are ready to prove that the monster vice which this traffic sustains fills our almshouses with paupers, our jails with criminals, our asylums with maniacs, and makes the drunkard's home a hell; that it arms the insane murderer with deadly weapons, and lets loose the fiend upon society; that it sends forth the midnight incendiary upon his fearful mission; palsies the mariner upon the ocean, and leaves the richly-freighted ship to be dashed upon the rocks, and the crew to sink in the dark waters. On sea and land, in city, town, and village, upon the mountains, in the valleys and plains, its ravages are discernible.

Such is the evil which the Massachusetts legislature, prompted by a sense of humanity and justice, has undertaken to suppress by the force of law. Between this infernal traffic and society it has placed this Anti-Liquor Law, that it may crush the former and protect the latter; that it may stay the desolating torrent, and save the young and future generations from being swallowed up in the fearful vortex. Shall this law be sustained and enforced? On the affirmative of this question I submit fifty arguments, drawn from the most authentic sources, and entitled to the serious consideration of every thinking, humane, and Christian man.

FIFTY ARGUMENTS.

SECTION I.

ARGUMENTS TO PROVE THAT THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-LIQUOR LAW OF 1852 IS FOUNDED UPON THE SOUNDEST PRINCIPLES OF LEGISLATION.

I.

It is a principle recognized in all civilized communities, that society has the right to protect, by legal enactments, the health, lives, and moral interests of its citizens. This right is acknowledged in every government, legislature, and court in Christendom; and is an inherent element in the organization of society. It cannot be drawn into controversy. It cannot be disputed without assailing the basis upon which society rests.

This right extends not only to the enactment of general laws for self-protection, the execution of penalties, the appointment of a body of police, and the raising of armies for suppressing rebellion or resisting foreign invaders, but also to every thing that tends to injure society.

"Let a man," says Blackstone, "be ever so abandoned in his principles, or vicious in his practice, provided he keeps his wickedness to himself, and does not offend against the rules of public decency, he is out of the reach of human laws. But if he makes his vices public, though they be such as seem principally to affect himself, (as drunkenness or the like,) they then become, by the bad example they set, of pernicious effects to society; and therefore it is then the business of human laws to correct them."

II.

This principle is acted upon in the laws which are passed against gambling, lotteries, profanity, Sabbath breaking, counterfeiting money, smuggling, the storage of gunpowder, the exposure and sale of demoralizing prints, and any business that endangers the public health or morals. We do not depend upon the influence of moral suasion to protect society against these evils. We do not go to the gambler, and appeal to his conscience, his humanity, his

regard for the public welfare. We do not plead with the incendiary, and portray before his mind the suffering which he occasions, depicting in vivid colors the horrors of a midnight's conflagration. We do not depend upon public meetings, speeches, and the force of mere argument to prevent men from stealing, or forging, or slandering one another. Society decrees that these evils shall not be permitted. It punishes the offender. It employs its whole force to annihilate the evil.

Neither do we seek, as has been done in regard to intemperance, to simply **REGULATE** these evils. The government does not license annually, out of regard to public depravity, so many incendiaries, or thieves, or dealers in tainted meat, or corrupted drugs. It aims to remove, not regulate these evils. It does not care to derive a revenue from such a system of licensing.

III.

The right of society for which we contend has been repeatedly recognized in the laws, which, for years have been on the statute book, in relation to the sale of intoxicating drinks. It has been conceded by the whole community that this traffic is so full of danger, and attended by such wide-spread and disastrous consequences, that it cannot be left open for any one to engage in. Hence special permission has been granted to some to sell intoxicating liquors, while others have been prevented by law from dealing in them. Now, if society has the right, through its officers, to forbid a portion of traders selling ardent spirits on account of the destructive effects that would follow, it obviously has the right, for the same reason, to suppress the traffic altogether.

And here I would remark, that the progress of a people from a state of barbarism to a state of high civilization, is accurately indicated by the number and stringency of their laws enacted to suppress the evils that prey upon society. Among savage tribes the laws are few, and but imperfectly executed. As a community advance in intelligence and virtue, the attempt is at first made to regulate an evil, which is afterwards suppressed. The Spartans tolerated theft under certain restrictions, and in France abandoned females were licensed. Lotteries, gaming, horse racing, and other evils were once licensed and under the protection of law. But these evils are now suppressed. Even the "art unions" are condemned by the courts for having in them the lottery principle. It is clear, therefore, that so enormous an evil as the traffic in intoxicating drinks must be crushed by the strong arm of law, or civilization must cease to advance.

IV.

Society exercises the right of destroying private property when it is necessary for the prevention of evil, or the securing of the public good. The goods of the smuggler are seized and confiscated.

To arrest a conflagration a house or store may be blown up. Tainted meat, damaged hides, the implements of the gambler may be seized and destroyed. If tools for counterfeiting, or bank note plates, are found in any house, they may be taken forcibly away and destroyed; and there is no cry raised about the injustice of seizing private property. And why? Because counterfeiting is a sin against the banks; and sins against the banks, in this Mammon-worshipping age, are unpardonable sins. But here is an article sold as a beverage that produces an amount of evil compared with which the injury done by these things is as nothing; and yet, when we propose to destroy it, loud cries are raised that we are unjustly destroying private property. Is it not reasonable, instead of man, God's image, lying in the gutter, that alcohol should take its turn now to lie in the gutter?

Upon the point before us, JUDGE McLEAN says, "The acknowledged police power of a state" (5 Howard's Reports, 589) "extends often to the destruction of property. A nuisance may be abated. Every thing prejudicial to the health or morals of a city may be removed. Merchandise from a port where a contagious disease prevails, being liable to communicate disease, may be excluded; and, in extreme cases, it may be thrown into the sea."

V.

The Massachusetts Anti-Liquor Law, in its fundamental principles, is in accordance with the United States Constitution.

The contrary of this has been repeatedly affirmed, and, indeed, it has become quite fashionable of late, when any great iniquity is to be perpetrated, or perpetuated, to invoke the protection of the United States Constitution. Under the impression that the provisions of this instrument are not generally known, many persons are ready to make use of it, to set aside the clearest principles of right, and the most urgent claims of humanity. No document is more grossly perverted, and if those who prate about it so much would study it more, they would find that its framers never intended that it should serve as a shield for wrong doing, or villany in any of its forms.

But let us hear the testimony of eminent judges upon the point before us. JUDGE GRIER gives his opinion in the following distinct manner:—

"It is not necessary to array the appalling statistics of misery, pauperism, and crime, which have their origin in the use and abuse of ardent spirits. The police power, which is exclusively in the states, is alone competent to the correction of these great evils, and all measures of restraint or prohibition, necessary to effect the purpose, are within the scope of that authority. All laws for the restraint or punishment of crime, or the preservation of the public peace, health, and morals, are, from their very nature, of primary importance, and lie at the foundation of social existence. They are for the protection of life and liberty, and necessarily compel all laws on subjects

of secondary importance, which relate only to property, convenience, or luxury, to recede when they come in contact or collision. *Salus populi suprema lex.* If a loss of revenue should accrue to the United States from a diminished consumption of ardent spirits, she will be the gainer a thousand fold in the wealth and happiness of the people."

Nothing can be more decisive than the opinion of CHIEF JUSTICE TANEY, touching the power of a state to *prohibit the traffic in the most ample manner* : —

"If any state deems the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens, I see nothing in the Constitution to prevent it from regulating and restraining the traffic, or from prohibiting it altogether."

MR. JUSTICE CATRON said, "If the state has the power of restraint by licenses to any extent, she has the discretionary power to judge of its limits, and may go to the length of prohibiting sales altogether." — 5 *Howard*, 611.

The late JUDGE WOODBURY said, "After articles have come within the territorial limits of states, whether on land or water, the destruction itself of what constitutes disease and death, and the longer continuance of such articles within their limits, or the terms and conditions of their continuance, when conflicting with their legitimate police, or with their power over internal commerce, or with their right of taxation over all persons and property within their jurisdiction, seems one of the first principles of state sovereignty, and indispensable to public safety." — 5 *Howard*, 630.

MR. JUSTICE DANIEL said of imports that are "cleared of all control of the government," "They are like all other property of the citizen, whether owned by the importer or his vendee, or may have been purchased by cargo, package, bale, piece, or yard, or by hogsheads, casks, or bottles." In answering the argument that the importer purchases the right to sell when he pays duties to government, Mr. Justice Daniel continues to say, "No such right is purchased by the importer; he cannot purchase from the government that which it could not insure to him — a sale independently of the laws and policy of the state."

VI.

Look now at the action of Congress, by which the principle under consideration is directly sanctioned.

Congress, in 1834, passed an act abolishing the rum traffic in the Indian territories, and have since passed the following amendment, to wit : —

SECT. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the (20th) twentieth section of the "Act to regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and to preserve Peace on the Frontiers," approved June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and thirty-four, be, and the same is, hereby so amended, that, in addition to the fines thereby imposed,

any person who shall sell, exchange, or barter, give or dispose of any spirituous liquor or wine to an Indian, in the Indian country, or who shall introduce, or attempt to introduce, any spirituous liquor or wine into the Indian country, except such supplies as may be necessary for the officers of the United States, and the troops of the service, under the direction of the War Department, such person, on conviction thereof before the proper District Court of the United States, shall in the former case be subject to imprisonment for a period not exceeding two years, and in the latter case not exceeding one year, as shall be prescribed by the court, according to the extent and criminality of the offence; and in all prosecutions arising under this section, and under the twentieth section of the "Act to regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and to preserve Peace on the Frontiers," approved June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and thirty-four, to which this is an amendment, Indians shall be competent witnesses.

VII.

This law is in accordance with the Constitution of Massachusetts. The seventh article of the Declaration of Rights is as follows: "Government is instituted for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or any one class of men. Therefore the people alone have an incontestable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to institute government, and to reform, alter, or totally change the same, when their protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness require it."

No language can express more clearly or decisively the right for which we contend than this; and if this principle cannot be applied to the protection of the community against the vast evils of intemperance, then we are at a loss to know how it is applicable to any evil.

VIII.

This law is cordially sustained by the great mass of intelligent and virtuous citizens of the commonwealth, by the clergy of various denominations, by the members of our churches, officers of our benevolent and charitable societies, as well as by many of our ablest statesmen. It has been enthusiastically received by tens of thousands throughout the state and throughout the Union. Addresses in its support have been delivered in almost every city, town, and village in the commonwealth. Conventions have been held, of a highly respectable and religious character, at which party and sectarian distinctions have been thrown aside, and all the members have united in the pledge to make every effort in their power to sustain and execute this law. It is regarded as the most precious boon that the government of the state ever presented to the people. Prayers have ascended to heaven in its behalf. The warmest blessings have been invoked upon its authors.

Of the hundreds of resolutions passed by different bodies in its favor, I will quote a portion of those that were unanimously adopted at the last meeting of the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, held in Lowell in June, 1852. They are as follows:—

Resolved, That this Association cordially approves of the law recently passed by the legislature of this state called the “Liquor Law,” and soon to go into operation.

Resolved, That, as ministers of the gospel, we will ourselves yield to the requisitions of this law, and do all we can to induce others to sustain it.

Resolved, That we have strong confidence in the ability and disposition of a large majority of the population of the state to give such an efficient execution to this law as will secure to the community the great benefits it is adapted to confer.

At the great Worcester Convention over twenty resolutions were unanimously passed, of which the following is one:—

Resolved, That as friends of humanity, of religion, and of our country, we rejoice that these principles have at length been embodied in the law enacted by the legislature of this state, at their last session, for the suppression of the sale of intoxicating drinks; that we regard this law as eminently adapted to gain the true ends of human legislation, the defence of the pecuniary interests, the morals, the religion, the liberty, and the general welfare and happiness of the community; that therefore we regard it as eminently invested with righteous authority as an ordinance of God, designed and adapted to be a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well.

IX

Opinions of distinguished men in relation to the law.

The late HON. ORIN FOWLER, in a letter to a member of the Worcester Convention, said, “I hope you and all the friends of the new law will be fully prepared for the noble work of carrying into full effect that most beneficent statute—a statute which, if faithfully executed, will add much to the high renown of our cherished commonwealth.”

The late HON. ROBERT RANTOUL, JR., said, in addressing the State Temperance Committee, “Be assured that my whole heart is in the great work, than which none that is nobler, worthier, holier, could be undertaken by men. The great object of government is the protection of life, liberty, and property. That it is not only a right, but an imperative duty, to suppress any trade or practice whose principal effect is the destruction of these, I have never doubted, nor do I doubt that your purpose will be ultimately accomplished.”

REV. ALBERT BARNES, of Philadelphia, says, “The evils of intemperance are in all respects so great, and are, in spite of all

the legal enactments now existing, so far spread and spreading in the land; the loss to the nation in its moral character, and in its productive industry, is so great; the costs of prosecuting for crime committed under the influence of intoxicating drinks, and the taxes to support paupers made by intemperance, are so great; the failure of the appeals made by argument and moral suasion are, in painful respects, so manifest; the woes and lamentations caused by intemperance come up still so loud and so piercing from all parts of the land; the ruin of the body and the soul of a human being is so dreadful; and the fact that tens of thousands of our countrymen are annually sent to a dishonored grave as the result of the 'drinking usages of society,' — these things are forcing the inquiry upon the public mind, whether it is, or is not, proper and practicable to prohibit the traffic altogether, and whether this is not the point which legislation must reach, and should reach, in regard to this great evil. With a view, therefore, to the formation of a correct public opinion, as far as my voice may have any influence, and ultimately to a change in the whole course of legislation on this subject in our commonwealth and country, I propose to submit to you a few considerations on the propriety of a law, prohibiting entirely, with suitable penalties, the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage."

HON. HORACE MANN says, "The friends of temperance have achieved a position entirely new. The 'Maine Law' is as great a discovery in morals as steam was in physics. We now have an instrument of vast power, which a single man can put in motion. And is it possible that there can be, any where within the boundaries of old Pilgrim Massachusetts, a single rendezvous of all the curses and crimes that torment society, which has not some 'follower of God and friend of humankind' near by, who will apply the torch and send it to quick destruction? For this purpose, the whole state must be thoroughly organized — county, town, city, ward, &c. Wherever an enemy lies in ambush, watching his opportunity to spring forth and destroy the happiness and peace of society, there let a company of faithful sentinels be placed to resist and defeat him."

L. M. SARGENT, Esq., of Boston, in a letter to the Hon. Neal Dow, dated January 8, 1852, says, —

"After grave reflection, I hesitate not to say, that, in my humble opinion, a repeal, or any serious modification, of your admirable law would inflict a heavier blow upon the cause, at the present moment, than has ever been inflicted since the days of its very first life-cry, in this commonwealth, in 1812. The enactment of your law, and its excellent results, thus far, have marked an epoch in the reformation. It has satisfied the wavering and the incredulous, who had begun to look upon the labors of temperance men as very closely resembling those of Penelope upon her interminable web, that the evils of intemperance were not necessarily irremovable.

To the cry issuing from a thousand times ten thousand aching hearts, throughout the world — CAN NOTHING BE DONE TO STAY THE PLAGUE? — it furnishes the only satisfactory answer, it appears to me, that has ever been offered since the commencement of the reformation. Ay, thanks be to God, SOMETHING CAN BE DONE! This cruel idolatry must come to an end. Maine has supplied this alcoholic Juggernaut with her full proportion of human victims. She has resolved to deal with the temples of idolatry, and the idols of a misguided people, in the form of stone jugs, as Cortez dealt with the temples of the idols of the Aztecs, and to put an end to these human sacrifices forever.

"My dear sir, I am a Massachusetts man — bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh. God knows how ardently I have hoped for her deliverance from this colossal curse of intemperance, and that the time might come, while I yet lived, when, from this cause at least, there should be no more leading into captivity, nor complaining in her streets. As a harbinger of this blessed condition of things, I have seen nothing so much like a leading cynosure, a star of promise in the east, as this noble act of vigorous and practical philanthropy, accomplished by the lawgivers of Maine. It has placed me, as it were, upon a moral Pisgah, and given me a glimpse, however distant, of the promised land."

FROM HON. THOMAS S. WILLIAMS, Chief Justice of Connecticut.

"HARTFORD, January 15, 1852.

"REV. CALVIN E. STOWE. Dear Sir: Yours of the 31st December last, inviting my attendance at the great meeting of the friends of temperance, to take place at Augusta on the 21st and 22d of January, was duly received.

"I cannot forbear to congratulate you upon the triumph the cause of temperance has achieved in your state in the passage of the law, (now known as the 'Maine law,') and the manner in which it has been executed.

"Honor to the men by whose energy this mighty victory has been won. Honor to the legislature who yielded to the wishes of a virtuous community. Honor to those who have so faithfully executed it; and honor to those who, being originally opposed to the law, have now become its strenuous supporters.

"As a matter of political economy, the value of this law can hardly be over-estimated — but in its moral bearings, it is beyond all price.

"You will now be met by the outcry that the law is unconstitutional. This is the common argument when others fail, and it is readily adopted by those who dislike the restraints of a good law. But those who have read, or will read, the opinions given by the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, the legal expounders of the Constitution, in the license cases, so called, will have no fears upon that point."

From E. C. DELAVAN, Esq.

"BALLSTON CENTRE, January 8, 1852.

"HON. NEAL DOW. My dear Sir: I have this day received your kind invitation to attend the great temperance meeting at Augusta. I feel that I would willingly lay down what remains of life and estate, not already exhausted, to promote the purification of the world from the sin of spirit drinking and selling, could I, by so doing, secure to my own native state your law, *with the certainty that it could be carried out*; for such a law, made fully effective in this state, would result in such a change of condition in a moral, religious, and pecuniary point of view, as would astonish the whole world, as well as the people of the state. Would that I could think we are *ready* for your law *now*. I *hope* we are ready. I hope I am mistaken in thinking that much hard work is to be done before we are ready, although enough has been done, one would think, to have made us ready. Your success will aid us. I am glad to see your law made the basis of action all over our state."

A writer in the North American Review for April, 1852, p. 470, while discussing the right of society to protect itself, says, —

"Whatever be the rights of property, they weigh nothing against the rights of humanity. Nor is the interest of an individual to be set off against the interests of a community. Suppose a man were to erect an establishment which should bring him in a rich return upon his outlay, but which, from some neglect on his part, should be the source of continual expense and suffering to all his neighbors; no one would doubt that the government of the place ought to interfere to compel him to remedy the defect — no government would hesitate to do it."

SECTION II.

THE SPECIFIC EVILS OF INTemperance WHICH RENDER SUCH A LAW NECESSARY.

X.

In entering upon this branch of our argument we are appalled by the enormity and aggravated character of the evil, which it is the design of this law to suppress. Words lose their force when we attempt to describe it. Language breaks down under the weight of its enormities. Images, epithets, the most comprehensive and intense utterances fail to set forth the evil in its true light. Under statistical reports there are living forms of degradation, vice, and wretchedness, which, should they appear before us, would fill the mind with horror. The word *intemperance* has never been defined, and cannot be defined. Eternity alone can reveal its full meaning.

In glancing, however, at some of its obvious features, I would allude first to the cost which it occasions. From the most accurate

data gathered from custom house books and the declarations of distillers, it appears that over 60,000,000 gallons of ardent spirits are annually consumed in the United States, at a cost of \$30,000,000. Add to this the expenses of the pauperism and crime growing out of intemperance, to say nothing of the losses occasioned by intemperate agents, seamen, &c., and we have an aggregate of at least \$120,000,000 which is annually sacrificed in our country — *one hundred and twenty millions of dollars*, for which we receive no return except poverty, wretchedness, tears, and curses.

“This sum would build twelve such canals as the Grand Erie and Hudson Canal *every year*; it would support a navy four times as large as that of Great Britain; it is sixty times as much as the aggregate income of all the principal religious charitable societies in Europe and America; it would supply every family on the earth with a Bible in eight months; it would support a missionary or teacher among every two thousand souls on the globe!”

“In Great Britain, it appears from statistics published by direction of Parliament, a few years ago, that, while the annual expense for bread was about \$130,000,000, the immediate cost of the liquor consumed was \$250,000,000. This sum must be doubled to get at the entire expense connected with it; making the whole yearly loss from intemperance, \$500,000,000.”

XI.

Taxation. It is computed that for every \$1000 profit that a dealer makes on the sale of intoxicating drinks, the community are taxed between \$6000 and \$8000 to support the pauperism and crime consequent upon the quantity sold which yields this profit. Why the virtuous and industrious portion of society should be thus exorbitantly taxed to enable the rum seller to gratify his avarice is a question which we leave to our legislators to decide. Is it not reasonable that those who live in luxury upon the profits of this traffic should support their own paupers? But we may be told that the dealers pay for their licenses. I would ask how much? Take a single fact.

The exact sum received in the city and county of Philadelphia for tavern licenses, in the year 1851, was \$66,302. The expenses for prosecuting for crime, and for the support of pauperism, consequent on intemperance, in the city and county, was, for the same year, as accurately as it can be computed, \$365,000.

But let us see what becomes of a large portion of the enormous taxes which the citizens of Boston are annually called upon to pay. From the “Auditor’s Fortieth Annual Report of the Receipts and Expenditures of the City of Boston, and the County of Suffolk, for the financial Year 1851–2,” I make the following extracts:—

Expended for House of Correction, - - - -	\$17,503 15
“ “ House of Industry and Deer Island, - -	85,989 09

Expended for Overseers of the Poor, and other poor, - 26,802 36
 " " Old claims, - - - - - 1,714 38

"The New Jail and Almshouse at Deer Island have both been completed. The former has been appropriated, since the month of November last, to its intended purposes, and the latter is ready for such occupancy, waiting only the authority of the city council. The total cost of the New Jail, including some furniture, is \$501,854 83; that of the Almshouse, including cooking and warming apparatus and some furniture, is \$166,200 34."

The net revenue of the year has been derived from the following sources:—

Taxes, - - - - -	\$1,301,024 28
Rents, - - - - -	72,466 16
Fees, &c., - - - - -	2,534 45
Licenses, - - - - -	1,751 00
Hay Scales, - - - - -	1,204 18
	<hr/> \$1,378,980 07

Thus it appears that the hay scales yield nearly as much revenue as the licenses! Now, if the government really need the revenue from licenses, might it not be well to withdraw the licenses, and double the charges for weighing hay?

Under the head of "Appropriations for the financial year 1852-3," I find the following estimates:—

For House of Correction, - - - - -	\$35,500
" Houses of Industry and Reformation at South Boston and establishment at Deer Island, - - - - -	80,000
" Lunatic Hospital, - - - - -	22,000
" Police, - - - - -	40,000
" Watch department, - - - - -	85,000

Let any one converse with the superintendents of these establishments, and learn from them how much of this vast expense is in consequence of the traffic in intoxicating drinks.

XII.

Pauperism. According to the Report for 1850, there were in this state fourteen thousand six hundred and seventy-four paupers, made such, directly or indirectly, by intemperance. A careful writer says, "Of three thousand persons admitted to the workhouse in Salem, Mass., two thousand nine hundred were brought there directly or indirectly by intemperance. Of five hundred and ninety-two male adults in the almshouse in New York, not twenty, says the superintendent, can be called sober; and of six hundred and one women, not as many as fifty."

In the Annual Report of the "Boston Society for the Prevention of Pauperism" for 1852, I find this statement: "These places (dram

shops) are the nurseries of pauperism, crime, and disease, and do more to fill our charitable and criminal institutions, and to swell the bills of mortality, than all other causes put together. All efforts to eradicate pauperism and crime must, in a measure, prove fruitless until these places are closed."

Investigations in regard to this point, in other states, show that in New York seventeen hundred out of nineteen hundred in the poor-houses owe their pauperism to intemperance. In New Haven the proportion is two thirds, and in Hartford the same. Such facts need no comment. If they cannot of themselves influence public opinion, then no appeals can be of any avail.

XIII

Intemperance is the chief cause of crime. From statistical reports it can be proved that more than four fifths of the crimes which are committed are produced by alcoholic drinks. This is the opinion of Hon. Felix Grundy, U. S. senator from Tennessee, after thirty years' extensive practice in the law, and of many other distinguished lawyers. The warden of the New York city prison, in a letter to the state assembly, testifies that of eighteen thousand and forty-two commitments to that prison in 1849, at least fourteen thousand were for crimes caused by intemperate habits. In many of the prisons scarcely a single inmate can be found who has entirely abstained from intoxicating drinks. Dr. Justin Edwards says, that of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four criminals in different prisons, more than thirteen hundred were either intemperate men, or were under the influence of alcohol when they committed their crimes.

The following results are stated on the authority of a document entitled "Abstract of Returns of the Keepers of Jails and Overseers of the Houses of Correction for the Year ending November 1, 1851: prepared for the Use of the Legislature by the Secretary of the Commonwealth:"—

Commitments to the Jails of Massachusetts during the Year ending November 1, 1851.

For Intemperance in Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts,	1507
“ Salem, Essex County, - - - - -	367
“ Ipswich, Essex County, - - - - -	5
“ Cambridge, Middlesex County, - - - - -	50
“ Worcester, Worcester County, - - - - -	5
“ Northampton, Hampshire County, - - - - -	18
“ Lenox, Berkshire County, - - - - -	10
“ New Bedford, Bristol County, - - - - -	35
“ Plymouth, Plymouth County, - - - - -	00
“ Nantucket, Nantucket County, - - - - -	1
“ Newburyport, Essex County, - - - - -	16
“ Lowell, Middlesex County, - - - - -	83

For Intemperance in Concord, Middlesex County, - - -	00
“ Greenfield, Franklin County, - - - -	00
“ Springfield, Hampden County, - - - -	4
“ Dedham, Norfolk County, - - - -	90
“ Taunton, Bristol County, - - - -	31
“ Barnstable, Barnstable County, - - - -	2
“ Edgartown, Dukes' County, - - - -	00

Committed to the jail in Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, year ending November 1, 1851, for intemperance, 1507

Committed to all the jails in all the other counties in the commonwealth, - - - - - 714

Showing nearly twice as many committed to the jail in Boston as in all the other counties!

While the population of Boston is about - - - 140,000

And the population of all the other counties about - 860,000

The following table has been compiled from the “Jail Returns and Legislative Documents in the office of the secretary of the commonwealth.”

It exhibits a comparison of the city and the country in regard to the crimes specified, and shows what proportion of the whole are for *intemperance*.

1851.	Boston, Suffolk County.	Other Cos.
Murder, - - - - 4	- - - - -	7
Arson, - - - - 6	- - - - -	10
Rape, - - - - 3	- - - - -	11
Highway robbery, - 12	- - - - -	3
Burglary, - - - 73	- - - - -	66
Keeping brothels, - 60	- - - - -	12
Intemperance, - - 1567	- - - - -	694
1849.		
Murder, - - - - 6	- - - - -	9
Arson, - - - - 0	- - - - -	25
Rape, - - - - 1	- - - - -	5
Highway robbery, - 14	- - - - -	5
Burglary, - - - 126	- - - - -	75
Keeping brothels, - 55	- - - - -	8
Intemperance, - - 1172	- - - - -	529
1850.		
Murder, - - - - 4	- - - - -	6
Arson, - - - - 2	- - - - -	19
Rape, - - - - 9	- - - - -	5
Highway robbery, - 5	- - - - -	5
Burglary, - - - 63	- - - - -	5
Keeping brothels, - 46	- - - - -	8
Intemperance, - - 400	- - - - -	512

XIV.

Murders committed. It is estimated that in the United States about one murder is caused every day by the agency of rum; and during the past year, two hundred suicides have, under the influence of intemperance, rushed into the presence of the supreme Judge of the universe. Those engaged in the trials of capital offences testify that of forty-four murders, forty-three were committed by intemperate men, or upon those addicted to this vice. Such a fact seems astounding; and yet, when we consider how intemperance deadens the moral faculties, blasts the conscience, and inflames the worst passions of the soul, turning a human being into a bloodthirsty fiend, we are not astonished at the result. But we are astonished that civilized men will continue to sell an article which they know will lead directly to such fearful consequences. We are amazed that the people who are so vigilant in regard to protecting life from danger from other sources; who insist upon having a railroad accident investigated with the greatest care, that it may be publicly known upon whom the blame rests; who are so ready to shun an apothecary's shop where a single mistake in putting up medicine has been made; who censure and punish a physician for one case of malpractice, — should at the same time sustain a traffic that it is known beforehand will lead to murder and every other crime.

“During a warmly-contested election in the city of New York, it is stated in the daily papers that numerous applications were made for *pistols* to those who kept them for sale. It is added that the application was extensively denied, on the ground of the apprehension that they were intended for bloodshed in the excitement of the contest. This was a noble instance of principle. But on the plea of the dealer in ardent spirits, why should they have been withheld? The dealer in firearms might have pleaded, as the trafficker in poison does, ‘This is my business. I obtain a livelihood by it. *I am not responsible for what will be done with the firearms.* True, the people are agitated. I have every reason to believe that application is made with a purpose to take life. True, blood may flow, and useful lives may be lost. But *I am not responsible.* If they take life, they are answerable. The excitement is a favorable opportunity to dispose of my stock on hand, and it is a part of my business to avail myself of all favorable circumstances in the community to make money.’ Who would not have been struck with the cold-blooded and inhuman avarice of such a man? And yet there was not *half* the moral certainty that those firearms would have been used for purposes of blood, that there is that ardent spirits will be employed to produce crime, and poverty, and death.”

XV

Insanity. At this hour there are in the State of Massachusetts over three hundred maniacs, whose reason has been dethroned

by this accursed evil. Among this number there are young men, who early gave promise of great distinction and usefulness — before whom life opened joyfully and brilliantly, but who, falling into the embrace of the demon Alcohol, had their hopes blasted and their fine intellects shattered. Even the learned professions have contributed their proportion to this unfortunate company. From careful observation, for a series of years, in this country and Great Britain, it was found that, in many parts of both nations, more than fifty per cent. of the insanity was caused by intoxicating drinks.

“Dr. John Percy, a graduate of the Edinburgh University, states, in his prize essay, (London, 1839,) that after poisoning dogs with alcohol, he had obtained it from distilling portions of the brain, liver, &c. And in a variety of experiments he found that a greater amount of alcohol was obtained from the brain than from an equal weight of liver, lung, or any other organ. The effect of alcohol in hardening the brain and nerves may be thus explained: The nervous structure being composed of nearly nine tenths water, in order to defend itself against the influence of the alcoholic poison, imparts a portion of its water to dilute the offending agent, and thus mitigate its destructive effect. In habitual dram drinkers this process must go on continually; hence the result is uniformly a consolidating or hardening effect on the whole nervous tissue, thus perverting all the natural sensibilities, and in effect paralyzing the organ of mind.”

XVI.

Idiocy. From the first state report upon idiocy in Massachusetts, it appears that of fourteen hundred idiots, five hundred were born so in consequence of having drunken parents. While visiting, not long since, the General Hospital, in Boston, I observed an idiotic child seated upon a bed in one of the apartments. I inquired into the history of her parents. The superintendent informed me that her father was formerly an intemperate man; that while such, he had three children, all of whom were idiots; that afterwards he abandoned his cups, and, while a temperate man, had children who were as bright and intelligent as any others. With what monuments of the divine displeasure towards this awful sin does the drunken father surround himself! To gaze year after year upon a little group of idiotic children made such by his own vice, to be conscious that he has himself defrauded them of reason, of hope, of happiness, must, if he has any of the feelings of a father, produce the most intense agony. An eminent physician says on this point, —

“There is another consideration, in my own opinion, of more appalling magnitude than any thing else connected with this whole subject, and it is a consideration to which the public mind has been seldom directed; and I would that its truth could be clothed in sunbeams of light, and sped like lightning’s flash to the judgment and conscience of every member of the whole family of mankind! *I mean the transmission of organism from parent to child.* We know

that the alcoholic poison diseases and vitiates the whole organization. We know, too, that organization, good or bad, is transmissible. What a thought! for a parent to transmit to his offspring a depraved, imperfect, and malformed organization!

"If there is one duty high as heaven, and solemn as eternity, and paramount to all others, devolving on parents in this relation, it is to transmit to posterity pure, perfect, and uncontaminated tenelements, in which for those spirits to sojourn, which are to animate and actuate them through life's whole pilgrimage. A drunken parent can never be the father or mother of healthy offspring; nor can an habitual moderate drinker be the progenitor of an issue as sound and perfect as it should be. If an immoderately dram-drinking man's organization is injured in a great degree, a moderately dram-drinking man's organization is injured in a lesser degree; and to look for a progeny faultless in form, and of strict integrity of structure and function, from a degenerate parental organism, is looking for a kind of miracle that never did and never will happen."

And yet the traffic that perpetuates this and a thousand other evils, many persons tell us, ought not to be suppressed by law! They gravely argue that such an act would be unconstitutional! Should the devil himself appear in a tangible form, and go through our streets as a roaring lion seeking whom he might devour, I apprehend that some of our prudent citizens would object to having him seized and destroyed, because there is no provision in the constitution for so doing. Particularly if it should be found that he had taken out a license, his right to protection would be regarded as almost sacred, by these profound defenders of the constitution!

XVII.

Influence of this traffic in producing ordinary diseases. On this point let me give the opinions of eminent physicians. One says, after forty years' extensive practice, "Half the men every year who die of fevers might recover, had they not been in the habit of using ardent spirit. Many a man, down for weeks with a fever, had he not used ardent spirit, would not have been confined to his house a day. He might have felt a slight headache, but a little fasting would have removed the difficulty, and the man been well. And many a man who was never intoxicated, when visited with a fever, might be raised up as well as not, were it not for that state of the system which daily moderate drinking occasions, who now, in spite of all that can be done, sinks down and dies."

Dr. HARRIS states, that the moderate use of spirituous liquors has destroyed many who were never drunk; and Dr. Kirk gives it as his opinion, that men who were never considered intemperate, by daily drinking have often shortened life more than twenty years; and that the respectable use of this poison kills more men than even drunkenness. Dr. Wilson gives it as his opinion, that the use of spirit in large cities causes more diseases than

confined air, unwholesome exhalations, and the combined influence of all other evils.

Dr. MOSELY, after a long residence in the West Indies, declares, "that persons who drink nothing but cold water, or make it their principal drink, are but little affected by tropical climates; that they undergo the greatest fatigue without inconvenience, and are not so subject as others to dangerous diseases;" and Dr. Bell, "that rum, when used even moderately, always diminishes the strength, and renders men more susceptible of disease; and that we might as well throw oil into a house, the roof of which is on fire, in order to prevent the flames from extending to the inside, as to pour ardent spirits into the stomach to prevent the effect of a hot sun upon the skin."

XVIII.

The cholera. That the fifteen hundred rum sellers in the city of Boston are doing what they can to bring back the cholera, and are preparing victims for that dreadful plague should it return, is abundantly proved by the following facts collected by the Rev. Dr. EDWARDS:—

Says the London Morning Herald, after stating that the cholera fastens its deadly grasp upon this class of men, "The same preference for the intemperate and uncleanly has characterized the cholera *every where*. Intemperance is a qualification which it never overlooks. Often has it passed harmless over a wide population of temperate country people, and poured down, as an overflowing scourge, upon the drunkards of some distant town." Says another English publication, "All experience, both in Great Britain and elsewhere, has proved that those who have been addicted to drinking spirituous liquors, and indulging in irregular habits, have been the greatest sufferers from cholera. In some towns the drunkards are all dead." Rammohun Fingee, the famous Indian doctor, says, with regard to India, that people who do not take opium or spirits do not take this disorder even when they are with those who have it. Monsieur Huber, who saw 2160 persons perish in twenty-five days in one town in Russia, says, "It is a most remarkable circumstance that persons given to drinking have been swept away like flies. In Tiflis, containing 20,000 inhabitants, every drunkard has fallen—all are dead—not one remains."

Dr. SEWALL, of Washington city, in a letter from New York, states that of 204 cases of cholera in the Park Hospital, there were only six temperate persons, and that those had recovered; while 122 of the others, when he wrote, had died; and that the facts were similar in all the other hospitals.

"In Albany a careful examination was made by respectable gentlemen into the cases of those who died of the cholera in that city in 1832, over sixteen years of age. The result was examined in detail by nine physicians, members of the medical staff attached

to the board of health in that city, — all who belong to it except two, who were at that time absent, — and published at their request, under the signature of the chancellor of the state, and the five distinguished gentlemen who compose the executive committee of the New York State Temperance Society, and is as follows: Number of deaths, 366; viz., intemperate, 140; free drinkers, 55; moderate drinkers, mostly habitual, 131; strictly temperate, who drank no ardent spirits, 5; members of Temperance Societies, 2; and when it is recollected that of more than 5000 members of Temperance Societies in the city of Albany, only two, not one in 2500, fell by this disease, while it cut off more than one in fifty of the inhabitants of that city, we cannot but feel that men who furnish ardent spirit as a drink for their fellow-men are manifestly inviting the ravages and preparing the victims of this fatal malady, and of numerous other mortal diseases."

XIX.

Delirium tremens. This is another specific evil that is sure to result from the excessive use of ardent spirits. It is thus described by one who has himself experienced it: "For three days I endured more agony than pen could describe, even were it guided by the hand of a Dante. Who can tell the horrors of that horrible malady, aggravated as it is by the almost ever abiding consciousness that it is self-sought? Hideous faces appeared on the walls, and on the ceiling, and on the floors; foul things crept along the bed clothes, and glaring eyes peered into mine. I was at one time surrounded by millions of monstrous spiders, who crawled slowly, slowly, over every limb; whilst drops of perspiration would start to my brow, and my limbs would shiver until the bed rattled again. Strange lights would dance before my eyes, and then, suddenly, the very blackness of darkness would appall me by its dense gloom. All at once, whilst gazing at a frightful creation of my distempered mind, I seemed struck with sudden blindness. I knew a candle was burning in the room, but I could not see it, all was so pitchy dark. I lost the sense of feeling, too; for I attempted to grasp my arm in one hand, but consciousness was gone. I put my hand to my side, my head, but felt nothing; and still I knew that my limbs and frame were there. And then the scene would change. I was falling, falling, swiftly as an arrow, far down into some terrible abyss; and so like reality was it, that, as I fell, I could see the rocky sides of the horrible shaft, where mocking, gibing, waving, fiendlike forms were perched; and I could feel the air rushing past me, making my hair stream out by the unwholesome blast. Then the paroxysm sometimes ceased for a few moments, and I would sink back on my pallet drenched with perspiration, utterly exhausted, and feeling a dreadful certainty of the renewal of my torments."

Such is the picture of this terrible malady. Now, were there in this community shops in which were kept for sale the delirium

tremens, the cholera, fevers, insanity, &c., would such a traffic be tolerated for a single day? Would any respectable citizen stand up before an enlightened audience, or in a legislative hall, and after distinctly admitting the facts of the case, and declaring himself opposed to the traffic, argue that it was a fanatical measure to close these shops at once by the force of law? Yet what is the difference between selling these specific evils, and selling an article that the dealer *knows* will certainly produce them?

XX.

Spontaneous combustion of drunkards. PROFESSOR R. D. MUSSEY, M. D., says, "The bodies of some drunkards have been so thoroughly steeped in spirit as literally to take fire and consume to ashes. It is said that no case of this combustion has ever occurred except among hard drinkers; and it is altogether probable that, in every such case, an inflammable air has exhaled from the lungs or skin, and has been kindled by the too near approach of a lighted taper, or some ignited substance. There is doubtless more danger than has been imagined in a deep drinker's bringing his mouth or nose close to a lighted taper at evening. The wonder is, that instances of the combustion of drunkards should so rarely have occurred. PLOUQUET mentions twenty-eight cases."

TROTTER mentions over fifty cases, and describes them at length. I will state but one of them. It is that "of a woman eighty years of age, exceedingly meagre, who had drunk nothing but ardent spirits for several years. She was sitting in her elbow chair, while her waiting maid went out of the room for a few moments. On her return, seeing her mistress on fire, she immediately gave the alarm; and some people coming to her assistance, one of them endeavored to extinguish the flames with his hands, *but they adhered to them as if they had been dipped in brandy or oil on fire.* Water was brought and thrown on the body in abundance, *yet the fire appeared more violent, and was not extinguished till the whole body had been consumed.* The lady was in the same place in which she sat every day, there was no extraordinary fire, and she had not fallen."

XXI.

Mortality among drunkards. Besides those who are carried off by other diseases that are produced or aggravated by intemperance, it is estimated that in this country alone 30,000 persons are annually destroyed by alcohol. Yes; to this Moloch we Christians, in Protestant, free, enlightened America, annually sacrifice thirty thousand human victims! They are selected from almost every family or circle of relatives in the land. Who is there who cannot recall the name of some near relative who has been offered up? Beloved husbands, fathers, brothers are among the melancholy group. "In New Brunswick, New Jersey, of sixty-seven adult deaths in one year, more than one third were caused by intoxicating

liquor. In Philadelphia, of 4292 deaths, 700 were, in the opinion of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, caused in the same way. The physicians of Annapolis, Maryland, state that of thirty-two persons, male and female, who died in 1828, above eighteen years of age, ten, or nearly one third, died of diseases occasioned by intemperance."

And still the work goes on. Every newspaper records some instance of sacrifice. One perishes by cold. Another falls into the dock or river. Another is prostrated upon a railroad, and the engine becomes the executioner. Another dies in the midst of a family which he has cursed, cursed, cursed. Imprecations, oaths, disease, wretchedness, are the legacy he leaves. Shall the work still go on? Yes, answer many of our legislators. Yes, answer many voters. Yes, answer mayors of our cities. Yes, shout the rum sellers in the commonwealth. YES, YES, shriek the lost spirits with fiendish glee, who glory in human wretchedness!

XXII.

Rum drinking destroys the soul. "No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God," is the declaration that has come to us from the eternal throne. This point is too obvious to need dwelling upon. He who dies a drunkard dies eternally. His immortal soul, made in the image of the infinite God, designed as the temple of the Deity, made capable of soaring with angels and enjoying companionship with the holiest and loftiest beings in the universe, is lost! More than thirty thousand immortal beings go from this land of Bibles, churches, and revivals every year into eternity with the drunkard's doom before them. Is this nothing? Say, ye members of Christian churches who opposed this law to suppress the traffic in rum, is this nothing? Will you pray that the heathen may have the gospel and be saved, and yet do nothing to remove the heathenism that is at your own door? Will you give of your money to stop, in a distant land, the car Juggernaut because a few victims are crushed under its wheels, and yet sustain at home a car Juggernaut that annually crushes out the everlasting hopes of thirty thousand of God's intelligent creatures? Will you weep at a recital of the tortures occasioned by swinging on hooks, or distorting the body, and yet have no sensibilities to be touched by the horrors of the infernal traffic that is carried on around you?

Listen to the words of the learned JUDGE CRANCH. He says, "I know that the cup" which contains ardent spirit "is poisoned; I know that it may cause death; that it may cause more than death — that it may lead to crime, to sin, to the tortures of everlasting remorse. Am I not, then, a murderer? worse than a murderer? as much worse as the soul is better than the body? If ardent spirits were nothing worse than a deadly poison — if they did not excite and inflame all the evil passions — if they did not dim that heavenly light which the Almighty has implanted in our bosoms to guide us

through the obscure passages or our pilgrimage — if they did not quench the Holy Spirit in our hearts, they would be comparatively harmless. It is their moral effect, it is the ruin of the *soul* which they produce, that renders them so dreadful. The difference between death by simple poison and death by habitual intoxication may extend to the whole difference between everlasting happiness and eternal death."

The New York State Society says, at the head of which is the chancellor of the state, "Disguise that business as they will, it is still, in its true character, the business of destroying the bodies and souls of men. The vender and the maker of spirits, in the whole range of them, from the pettiest grocer to the most extensive distiller, are fairly chargeable, not only with *supplying* the appetite for spirits, but with *creating* that unnatural appetite; not only with supplying the drunkard with the fuel of his vices, but with *making* the drunkard."

XXIII.

Number of drunkards. From estimates carefully made, it appears that in the United States there are about 400,000 drunkards, who, with the moderate drinkers, annually pour down their throats 60,000,000 gallons of ardent spirits. These are distributed throughout every city, town, and village in the Union. The guardians of the poor in Philadelphia report that the number of cases treated in the hospital, in the Blockley Almshouse, in 1851, was 5000. Intemperate, males, 2709, women, 897; total, 3606, out of 5000. There were also of mania a potu — with slight delirium, 343; do. with hallucination, 114; violent mania, 157; total, mania a potu, 614.

In New Hampshire there are over 2000 drunkards; in other states the same proportion. Now, could we look into the 400,000 families with which these victims of vice are connected, what spectacles of sorrow, poverty, and wretchedness would be presented! Here we should see an aged father broken down and impoverished by the profligacy of a beloved son, his gray hairs brought in sorrow to the grave. There we should behold a widowed mother, with her heart lacerated with grief, her foughest hopes blasted. She has pleaded with her only son, prayed for him, wept over him, in tones of agony exhorted him to dash from his lips the fatal cup. In another group may be seen the wife, smitten to the ground, trampled upon, her tenderness met with harshness and cruelty, her kindness repaid with scorn and brutality. Life to her, which was once gay and bright, has become a wild waste, filled with dark clouds, terrible visions, fearful forebodings. Tears, struggles against poverty, inward and outward desolation, are her portion. In another miserable apartment will be found little children neglected, grossly abused, the victims of paroxysms of rage, and brought up to crime and infamy. He who was their father has become a fiend. He who should give them bread deals out blows. Their natural protector has become

their greatest enemy — become a raving tiger thirsting for their blood.

In this army of drunkards are many women. "The horrible fact ought to strike upon us like a peal of thunder, that there are in this country fifty thousand women who are abandoned drunkards. If the intensity and the amount of the suffering caused by intemperance, deepened as it is sevenfold by the knowledge that it does not flow from the dispensations of Providence, but from human folly and wickedness, were appreciated, it would be enough, as it seems, to awaken the indignation and enlist the energies of every generous man in the overthrow of an evil, which, without affording any body one grain of real happiness, is the cause of such accumulating, inexpressible miseries."

XXIV.

Effects on children. It is stated that of six hundred and ninety children prosecuted and imprisoned for crimes, more than four hundred were from intemperate families. In a single school in Philadelphia, out of ninety children, twenty-five are intemperate. "On being asked by their teacher how it happened, the reply was, that it was by their dipping their bread in whiskey in the morning. This burning poison is thus a part of the very subsistence of the family. Its use steals silently on like a gentle soporific; and while it secures the powers of the man, it locks up his reason, destroys his moral sense, and hushes the alarms of conscience."

While visiting the almshouse at South Boston, I entered a hall in which were gathered about seventy poor, sickly, emaciated children between three and five years of age. Some were crying, others were wasting away under disease, and all looked inexpressibly sad. The spectacle was indeed heart-rending. On inquiring where such a company came from, I was informed that they were the children of intemperate parents who were in the poorhouse. They were a part of the fruits of the liquor traffic in the city of Boston.

How our public officers, whose official duty it is to inspect these institutions, and look from time to time upon these scenes of wretchedness, can deliberately grant licenses to rum sellers to evade the state law which has been enacted against this accursed business, is a question which I shall not attempt to answer.

XXV.

Alcoholic drinks are never necessary. I do not speak of alcohol as a medicine, or of its use for mechanical purposes, but as a beverage; and as such it is, under all circumstances, positively injurious. Some persons contend that spirits are necessary to enable a man to endure fatigue, the extremes of heat and cold, or exposure to severe storms. But we have an abundance of testimony with which to refute such an assertion. The experiment has been tried upon the West India

slave. But "on three contiguous estates," says DR. ABBOT, "of more than four hundred slaves, has been made, with fine success, the experiment of a strict exclusion of ardent spirits at all seasons of the year. The success has very far exceeded the proprietor's most sanguine hopes. Peace, and quietness, and contentment reign among the negroes; creoles are reared in much greater numbers than formerly; the estates are in the neatest and highest state of cultivation; and order and discipline are maintained with very little correction and the mildest means."

Sailors are another class who sometimes need ardent spirits, if they are ever needed, in cases of great exposure. But facts prove that those who drink are much more liable to perish than those who abstain.

"In confirmation of this, the case of the vessel wrecked off the harbor of Newburyport a few years since may be adduced. On an intensely cold night, when all the men of that vessel were in danger of freezing to death, the master advised them to drink no ardent spirits. He told them if they did they must surely freeze. Some took his advice, while others, notwithstanding his most earnest entreaties, disregarded it. The result was, that of those who used the spirits, some lost their hands, some their feet, and some perished; while the rest survived unhurt."

Soldiers are even more exposed to severe extremes and vicissitudes than sailors. But DR. JACKSON, a distinguished physician in the British army, asserts that spirits are decidedly injurious to soldiers on duty, rendering them less able to endure labor and hardship. And a general officer in the same army thus testifies: "But, above all, let every one who values his health avoid drinking spirits when heated; that is adding fuel to the fire, and is apt to produce the most dangerous inflammatory complaints." "Not a more dangerous error exists, than the notion that the habitual use of spirituous liquors prevents the effects of cold. On the contrary, the truth is, that those who drink most frequently of them are soonest affected by severe weather. The daily use of these liquors tends greatly to emaciate and waste the strength of the body," &c.

XXVI.

The custom of drinking comparatively modern. It is only within about three hundred years that ardent spirits have been generally used as a beverage. Our ancestors did not use them for more than a hundred years after this country was settled.

"The art of procuring ardent spirit by distillation," says Professor Waterhouse, "was the discovery of the Arabian chemists, a century or two after the death of Mahomet, who died in 631. But so sensible were these Mahometans of the destructive effects of spirituous liquors, that the use of them was prohibited even by their own laws. Such, however, was their prejudice against Christianity, that they willingly suffered this infernal and fascinating spirit to be

introduced among Christian nations. A more subtle plan, perhaps, could not have been devised to eradicate every religious principle from the human mind, and to disseminate those of an opposite nature.

"A considerable time had elapsed before ardent spirits were manufactured in Europe; and they were very sparingly used for several centuries. Then people in general were exempted from raging disorders, both of body and mind. In process of time, however, when distilled spirits were freely taken, it was observed that new diseases appeared, and such disorders as had been mild and tractable became formidable and alarming."

XXVII.

Pity for the victim of intemperance. This should induce all good citizens to rally to the support of the law. "Of all the unfortunate creatures in the world, if there be one who deserves especial commiseration on account of his sufferings, it is the slave of intemperance. His self-respect is utterly gone; and he hangs his head in shame and agony before the bar of his own conscience, and before the clear gaze of men, and before the haunting glance of God. A fiend follows him, a fearful fiend, by day and night. His nerves are unstrung; his brain is on fire with delirium; he is scared by unreal visions; a worm gnaws, gnaws at his breast, with an appetite more pitiless far than that of the vulture which devoured the vitals of the old Titan. In his lonely hours, thinking oftentimes how his early dreams have all faded out, and his best hopes gone to ashes, he weeps tears of gall. And when he remembers what he was once, when the world was fair and good, and there was a glory in the sky, and his heart was pure and young, unacquainted with guilt and misery, and then bethinks him of what he is now, he wishes he were dead. 'O,' he cries, 'that I had but died ere the sweet and innocent memories of boyhood were changed for this vile degradation and this dread remorse!' And then, in the intolerable revulsion of self-condemnation and despair, thousands have rushed unbid to the tribunal of God."

I will close this section by quoting the language of the HON. EDWARD EVERETT, stating what ardent spirits have done in ten years in the United States. He says, —

"1. It has cost the nation a direct expense of six hundred millions of dollars. 2. It has cost the nation an indirect expense of six hundred millions of dollars. 3. It has destroyed three hundred thousand lives. 4. It has sent one hundred thousand children to the poorhouse. 5. It has consigned at least one hundred and fifty thousand persons to the jails and state prisons. 6. It has made at least one thousand maniacs. 7. It has instigated to the commission of fifteen hundred murders. 8. It has caused two thousand persons to commit suicide. 9. It has burned or otherwise destroyed property to the amount of ten millions of dollars. 10. It has made two hundred thousand widows, and one million orphan children."

SECTION III.

ARGUMENTS DRAWN FROM THE IMMORALITY OF THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF INTOXICATING DRINKS.

XXVIII.

Alcohol is a poison. Hence the manufacture and sale of it, to be used as a drink, should be suppressed by law. If any have doubts respecting the poisonous nature of alcoholic drinks, let them consult medical and chemical works that treat upon this point, and their doubts will soon be dissipated. DR. TRALL, in his prize essay on "the Relations of Alcohol and the human Organism," uses the following language on this subject:—

"Now, what is alcohol? Does it grow? Is it found a constituent principle of any thing that has life? Never! Go search creation through; examine all the structures and fluids of animated existence: you find it not. Look through all the vegetable kingdom; analyze the alimentary grains, the nutritious seeds, the esculent roots, and the luscious fruits: it is not there. Then go down to the mineral regions; search through all the strata of earth, and explore the depths of old ocean: it is not there. Nature, throughout all her domain of things animate and inanimate, has not produced it. Whence comes it then? Human art, led on by the solicitation of depraved instincts, has produced it; not by any process of growth and development, but by a process of destruction and retrogradation.

"In making alcohol, the nutrient vegetable principles undergo fermentation. And what is fermentation? In plain language, it is simply a rotting process. The proximate organic vegetable principles putrefy, become decomposed, and are physiologically destroyed; but being subjected to certain circumstances of air, temperature, and moisture, some of their ultimate elements, set free by the process of decomposition, recombine, in new forms, and produce new substances, one of which is alcohol. The fermentation of leavened bread converts a portion of the sugar into carbonic acid gas, and if the fermentation is carried too far, the gluten is destroyed, and acetic acid developed; or, as the women say, *their bread is sour*. Hence fermentation, in the best of bread, diminishes its nutritive qualities. If food ferments in the stomach, instead of *digesting*, various acid, acrid, and irritating compounds are formed, as the dyspeptic well knows, greatly to his cost; and all fermentation, whether panary, saccharine, vinous, acetic, or putrefactive, is simply the transformation of matter from its organic or proximate to its ultimate or elementary conditions, in different stages of the process of retrogradation and destruction.

"Thus we see that alcohol, so far from being a product of growth and organic formation, is exactly the contrary — a result of decay

and destruction; and it has, clearly, no more place among man's beverages than arsenic has among his foods. The virus of the rattlesnake, when taken into the human stomach, has a pleasant, nervine, and exhilarating effect, and is, in fact, thus used, a less deadly poison than alcohol. But if this virus be inserted under the skin, it proves rapidly destructive. Alcohol inserted under the skin produces only a slight inflammation; but if swallowed, its destructive influence over the whole nervous system is rapid and powerful. Now, one is just as veritable a poison as the other, yet each operates in its own peculiar way. Such is alcohol, in itself considered, and such the analysis of its ravages on man."

DR. COX has truly said that "alcohol contains no more nourishment than a flash of lightning."

XXIX.

Liquors adulterated. As though alcohol were not a sufficiently violent and certain poison, the ingenuity of human depravity has devised means for the further drugging the beverages that are sold under the names of brandy, gin, wines, &c. We do not get even the alcohol pure, but this is combined with other poisons. Some of them are of the most pernicious character. DR. TRALL mentions the following as in common use: "Essential oils, cocculus Indicus, logwood, Brazil wood, alum, green vitriol, oil of vitriol, capsicum, opium, tobacco, aloes, bitter oranges, henbane, nux vomica, sugar of lead, oil of bitter almonds, India berry, pokeberries, elderberries, poison hemlock, Guinea pepper, laurel water, prussic acid, dragon's blood, lamb's blood, gum benzoin, red sanders, burnt sugar, salt of tartar, and so on. Here are some of the most deadly vegetable and mineral agents in the world, with which nearly all the liquors, wines, ales, and beers in the world, and often cider, are drugged and adulterated. A late work on chemistry enumerates forty-six articles commonly used in making beer alone; and almost every species of the light and sweet wines, such as *ladies* sometimes think delectable, is extensively adulterated."

An extensive dealer in ardent spirits was conversing with a friend shortly before the passage of the Massachusetts anti-liquor law, and asked him what he could do with his large stock, should that law be enacted. "Why," he replied, "you can sell your liquors for mechanical or medicinal purposes." "But," said the dealer, "they are not fit for either of those purposes." They were fit to pour down men's throats, and curse society, and fill the community with pauperism, crime, and indescribable wretchedness, and yet not fit for mechanical purposes! And such liquors are called "property"! Around such a villanous and deadly combination of vile and loathsome poisons, respectable men would place the "*sacred rights of property*"! At the moment that I am writing, the Massachusetts legislature is discussing the importance of securing greater protection to life on our railroads, on account of the recent sad

accident to the son of the President elect, and at the same time efforts are being made to repeal a law which has been passed to protect human life against these drugged liquors, which slay their hundreds and thousands! Railroad conductors and firemen must be careful — no constitutional obstructions to putting them under heavy penalties; but the fifteen hundred dealers in drugged poisons in Boston must not be disturbed in “their lawful business.” Though they send scores of men reeling through the streets, to one who, by accident, is thrown down a railroad bank — though they fill with sadness and clothe with mourning a thousand families, to one that is bereaved by such a calamity — yet we are told they must be protected! They must be protected because there is a great *deal of money* invested in their trade. Yes, a great deal of money, *money* invested in essential oils, logwood, green vitriol, opium, poison hemlock, prussic acid, &c., mixed up with alcohol, and therefore the traffic must not be disturbed! And those who make the strongest speeches on the rum, or drugged liquor, side of the question, are sure to announce that they are “temperance men” — a fact which, in many cases at least, was never publicly known before!

XXX.

Distillation destroys articles of food. It converts thousands of hogsheads of sugar and molasses, and millions of bushels of rye, into poison. So great has been the consumption of these articles, that in some places the distillery has regulated the price of bread, and in others, the poor have starved while the work of distillation was going on. The REV. EDWARD HITCHCOCK, D. D., in an argument addressed to distillers, says, “Do they know that fifty-six millions of gallons of ardent spirits are annually consumed in the United States, or more than four and a half gallons to each inhabitant; and that about forty-four millions of this quantity are prepared in the distilleries of our own country; that ten millions of gallons are distilled from molasses, and more than nine million bushels of rye are used for this purpose?”

An English “publication shows that \$30,000,000 worth of grain is destroyed every year by being manufactured into intoxicating liquids, and this while thousands of the peasantry have literally starved to death. A return of the revenue for the year 1842 shows that the British government derives an annual income of no less than \$65,000,000 from the duties upon liquor. And there cannot be a doubt, that in the world there is directly expended for it the annual sum of at least \$1,000,000,000 — a sum amply sufficient to relieve the physical wants of the destitute among all the civilized portion of mankind.”

XXXI.

The dealer in ardent spirits does not return a fair equivalent for what he receives. He takes the products of industry, the fruits of

toil, and justice requires that he give back a fair equivalent. If a person trades with a farmer, he receives for his money valuable produce. If a mechanic is employed, he gives us a comfortable house, or useful furniture, or some article that will be of service. The physician gives us the benefit of his study and professional skill. But what does a man carry away from the dealer in ardent spirits? That which will make him a better and happier man? which will help to increase his property, his interest in his family, his affection for his wife and children? that which will make him a better citizen, or neighbor, or patriot? I need hardly answer the question. For this money the man purchases sorrow, tears, disease, poverty, temporal and eternal death. The seller, however, may say that he is not responsible for what is done with the liquor. But he knows that it is purchased to be drunk, and he is fully aware of the effects of the poison. Is not the apothecary who sells arsenic or any other poison, knowing that the purchaser designs to take it, responsible? Is not a person who sells to another a pistol, knowing that the buyer will sooner or later use it to blow out his brains, responsible? If the rum seller knew that his liquor would not be used as a beverage, the case would be different. But he knows, as he deposits the money in his drawer, that he has delivered to the man a deadly poison—an article that will tend to undermine his health, derange his reason, blast his soul, and turn his home into a hell.

XXXII.

This traffic assails the fundamental principles of society. Society is a compact for mutual benefit. It contemplates the securing of advantages by associated effort, which cannot be as well, if at all, obtained by individual effort; such as self-protection, and security to property, the comforts and luxuries of life, and the general diffusion of happiness. Each member is expected to contribute his share to sustain necessary public expenses, to promote the welfare of the community, and to carry out the great end of the organization. Now, how do distillers and rum sellers act their part in accomplishing the purposes of this confederacy? They promote them as the wild ocean storm promotes navigation; as an extensive conflagration promotes the growth of a town or city; as a volcanic eruption promotes the comfort of the villagers at the base of the mountain.

GENERAL CARY, of Ohio, says, "The army of liquor makers and venders press forward, laying waste and destroying whatsoever things are honest, just, pure, excellent, lovely, and of good report. Their banners are rolled in blood, and the shrieks of murdered innocence is the music of their march. On every hill top and in every valley, monuments of human skeletons mark their desolating progress. Well might the great enemy of man swear by the coronet of fire, that, in the work of devastating earth, the liquor dealer has no rival."

XXXIII.

This traffic violates the Christian rule of humanity. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" is the law that comes to us from the great Teacher. But how does the liquor dealer love his neighbor? When a distressed wife has gone to him to plead with him, on her knees, not to sell her husband another drop of rum, what treatment has she received? As she has portrayed the poverty and wretchedness of her children, and depicted her own agony under the brutality of a drunken husband, what impression have the appeals made? I could repeat tales of horror on this subject, that would touch any heart that was not made of granite. We think it cruel, when the Hindoo widow is struggling to escape from the funeral pyre of her husband, to push her back into the flames, and disregard her shrieks. We exclaim, "O the barbarities of heathenism!" Would that such a people had the gospel! Yet here in Boston are wives, worse than widows, enduring the tortures of a perpetual fire, breathing an atmosphere impregnated with oaths and cursing, lying down at night upon beds of anguish, to whom no morning light brings peace or hope, who, when seeking relief at the feet of the keeper of the dram shop, are cruelly repulsed and driven back to their "funeral pyre." And just, too, as they are looking for hope to a law recently passed by the commonwealth to suppress the traffic in rum, a petition is placed in the Exchange in State Street, which I saw to-day, asking the present Legislature to repeal said law, and allow the tide of ruin to flow on unchecked! Said petition is signed by men of "high respectability," and I observed that it was very appropriately placed between two other kindred documents. One was a petition to allow the mail to run on the Sabbath, and the other a subscription paper to build a theatre and opera, both of which have numerous signatures. Should the petition for the repeal of the law be successful, I have no doubt but that it will be easy to accomplish the other two objects — break the Sabbath and build the theatre — besides perpetuating the misery of wives and children.

XXXIV.

The sale and use of intoxicating drinks violate the precepts of the Bible. I will quote some of them: "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth thy bottle to him, and maketh him drunken also, that thou mayst look on their nakedness." (Hab. ii. 15.)

"Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine."

"Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its color in the cup. At the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder." (Prov. xxiii. 29-32.)

"Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning that they may

follow strong drink; that continue until night, till wine inflame them." (Is. v. 11.)

"Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." (Prov. xx. 1.)

The uniform testimony of the Bible and the spirit of Christianity is most decidedly against this evil. And yet, on Monday, January 17, the following order was presented in the Massachusetts House of Representatives:—

"*Ordered*, That the committee on the judiciary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of repealing 'An Act concerning the Manufacture and Sale of Spirituous or Intoxicating Liquors,' passed May 22, 1852, and contained in the supplement to the Revised Statutes, chapter 322; as arbitrary and vindictive in its character, repugnant to the genius of our republican institutions, *inconsistent with the mild and peaceful spirit of Christianity*, and in conflict with the Constitution both of the United States and of this Commonwealth."

"Inconsistent with the mild and peaceful spirit of Christianity!!" It almost takes away my breath to think of the use of such language in such a connection. A law to suppress such evils as we have been considering inconsistent with the mild spirit of Christianity!

XXXV.

The traffic dishonors God. "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." What distiller or rum seller prays before his family in the morning for the divine blessing to rest upon the business of the day? Who opens his dram shop and pours out his drugged liquors for "the glory of God"? Who, at the close of life, and in his dying hours, renders thanks to his heavenly Father for having been permitted to add, in so large a measure, to the pauperism, crime, and wretchedness of the community? for having been the instrument of converting so many reasonable beings into maniacs, and securing to so many children diseased bodies and idiotic minds? Yet the command is clear and imperative, "Whatsoever ye do, *do all* to the glory of God."

The simple truth is, that there is not a single feature of this business that approximates towards fulfilling this requisition. On the other hand, it violates, in all its aspects, this great command. It dishonors God. It practically disregards his government and defies his authority. It scorns the terrible threatenings that he has uttered against transgressors.

For the Almighty Being, besides making known his will in the Scriptures, has written upon the drunkard's career, in letters of fire, his intense abhorrence of this evil. Every appalling consequence of intoxication is a chapter in the book of revelation, which the inebriate is forced to open and read. And these consequences are before the dealer, and he cannot fail to perceive their import. If the 1500 grog shops in Boston were converted into idol temples, would not the keepers be guilty of dishonoring God by thus promot-

ing idolatry and destroying the souls of men? But they might say, We do not compel men, as they pass by, to enter our temples and worship idols, and therefore are not responsible. I would say, Neither do the inhabitants of India compel men to throw themselves under the wheels of Juggernaut. But they roll forward the monstrous car, *knowing that human beings will be crushed*, and the dealer sells his rum, knowing that God will be dishonored — that his name will be blasphemed, his laws broken, his Sabbath violated, his gospel despised. He establishes a system of heathenism in a Christian city. His devotees bring their offerings to their temples, and then prostrate themselves in the streets, and in the gutters. Their groans mingle with the sound of church bells, and their curses with Christian prayers.

XXXVI.

This business is an offence to the virtuous portion of the community. It is regarded by every well-informed and humane person with indignation and disgust. The combination formed against it, under the temperance banner, comprises men of the highest distinction and station, able statesmen, profound judges, ministers, lawyers, physicians, poets, orators, merchants, and mechanics; — the noblest women in the land, the youth in our colleges and schools, are enrolled in the great army. They see the evils produced by the terrible foe of God and man. They hear the shrieks of the terrified, the groans of the dying, and they have enlisted in the holy cause of temperance, with the hope of staying the ravages of the evil, and saving some at least from destruction. And every glass of spirit that is sold obstructs their reform, and perpetuates the horrible evil which they are striving to remove.

XXXVII.

The evil effect of the traffic is regular and certain. The REV. ALBERT BARNES, one of the most distinguished and useful of American divines, says, in speaking of the effect of the manufacture and traffic, —

“It is not casual, incidental, irregular. It is uniform, certain, deadly, as the sirocco of the desert, or as the malaria of the Pontine marshes. It is not a periodical influence, returning at distant intervals; but it is a pestilence, breathing always — diffusing the poison when men sleep and when they wake, by day and by night, in seed time and harvest — attending the manufacture and sale of the article *always*. The destroyer seeks his victim alike in every hogshhead and in every glass. He exempts no man from danger that uses it; and is always secure of prostrating the most vigorous frame, of clouding the most splendid intellect, of benumbing the most delicate moral feelings, of palsying the most eloquent tongue, of teaching those on whose lips listening senates hung to mutter and babble with the drunkard, and of entombing the most brilliant talents and

hopes of youth, wherever man can be induced to drink. The establishment of every distillery, and every dram shop, and every grocery where it is sold, secures the certainty that many a man will thereby become a drunkard, and be a curse to himself and to the world."


SECTION IV.

THE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF THE MAINE AND MASSACHUSETTS LAWS WHERE THEY HAVE BEEN ENFORCED.

XXXVIII.

Portland. To the HON. NEAL Dow belongs the high honor of having secured the enactment of the Maine Law. May the richest of heaven's blessings rest upon him! May he live to see the principles of the Maine Law adopted by every state in our Union.

The statistical information in regard to the operation of the law in Maine has been so widely diffused through the community that I shall give but brief extracts from the reports which have been published on the subject. Mr. Dow, in his report to the board of aldermen, &c., while mayor of Portland, dated January 15, 1852, says, —

"The salutary effects of this law are more immediately seen in all those departments of our affairs which fall under the care of the police; and the returns of commitments to the watchhouse and house of correction will show something of the difference in this department between the present and past years. Number committed to the house of correction for drunkenness, from June 1 to December 1, 1850, six months, was 40. Number committed from January 1 to May 31, 1851, five months, was 34; from June 1 (the law was approved June 2) to October 16, was 8; from October 16 to December 31, none; from June 1 to December 31, seven months, 8.  THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION IS NOW EMPTY!

"The number of commitments to the jail of this county for drunkenness, assault, and larceny, from June 1 to December 31, 1850, was 192; for the same months of 1851, the number was 89, and for these months of 1851 there were 58 liquor sellers imprisoned, while in 1850 there were none. The law was in operation here pretty well by the 1st of August, 1851, and from that time to December 31st there were nine commitments for larceny, and for the corresponding months of 1850 there were 16 commitments for that offence."

MR. HADLEY, city missionary, says that his intercourse is chiefly with the poorest part of the population, who are out of the almshouse, and especially with the intemperate. For the quarter just ended, compared with the corresponding period ending December 31, 1850, the calls made upon him for assistance have been *less than one seventh*, and the cases where relief was actually afforded were *just one sixth* as many as they were during the same months of 1850,

and the amount given in the three months of 1851 was \$1 to \$5.37½ given in the corresponding period of 1850. These results he obtains from a careful examination of his books, and attributes the difference entirely to the favorable operation of this law upon the habits and domestic economy of the people.

XXXIX.

Bangor. REV. MR. WEAVER, of Bangor, stated at the convention in Augusta, the operation of the Maine Temperance Law in that city. A report was made to the citizens the first of last November showing the operations of the law during the months of July, August, and September, 1851, as compared with the corresponding months of 1850. It shows the following facts: "During the quarter ending September 30, before the enactment of the law, there were in Bangor 19 commitments to the county jail for breaches of the peace; quarter ending September 30, 1851, 8, — showing a gain of 11. The cost of commitments to the city watchhouse in the quarter last preceding the law, was \$258.80; of the last quarter, \$75; showing a gain, in a single and very orderly city, of \$183. There was a reduction of more than 50 per cent. in the out door expenses of the pauper establishment; 97 per cent. in the expenses of almshouses, resulting from intemperance; of 72 per cent. in the cost of the support of common drunkards in the house of correction. During the quarter under consideration, 4000 gallons of liquor were seized and destroyed, and a still larger amount kept from landing, and sent back to Boston for fear of destruction. In December, 1850, there were 40 commitments to the watchhouse; December, 1851, 14 only.

"*Before* this law went into operation, there were 106 sellers in Bangor. *Now* not one sells openly. It is sold covertly, probably, in some of the taverns. The most of places where it is sold are low Irish dens — private houses. *Formerly* we used to see men drunk and fighting every day in the streets. *Now* we see none of it. Men of business and influence there, never before identified with the temperance cause, come out in favor of this law. They see their property and their sons and daughters are in danger from the traffic. This is the *visible*, external aspect of the cause. If we look into the dwellings of the victims of the vice of intemperance, we see broken hearts bound up, the abodes of wretchedness and want transformed into dwellings of peace and plenty, and children, before deprived of the privileges of our public schools, and the sanctuary on the Sabbath, now enjoying them."

From every part of the state we receive the most cheering accounts of the operations of the law.

XL.

Force of the law. It is the united testimony of all persons who have published their opinions on the subject, that the force of this

law lies in its provision *to destroy the article* that produces the mischief. From among many witnesses I select the following :—

M. DAVIS, Esq., of Belfast, says, “Better have no law at all, at present, unless you can get one making spirituous liquors contraband, and *exposing them to destruction*. All laws without this will only fail. No law against the sale merely, however stringent, can be effectual. Our law of 1846 was every thing that such a law could be. As prosecuting attorney for a county league, I carried through some 300 prosecutions under it. This checked the business, and in a few towns broke it up. But in large places it produced no effect, and was finally dropped. And I am fully convinced, *from six years of unceasing effort in this business*, that the only way to stop the traffic in spirituous liquors is to make them contraband, and give the right to search and destroy them where found.”

XXI.

Effects in Massachusetts. Salem. Wherever in our own state the law has been executed, the most immediate and beneficial results have followed. Several hundred grog shops have been closed, crime and pauperism have been reduced, inebriates have been reformed, and comfort has been the portion of families heretofore made wretched by this vice.

The following statement in regard to Salem I take from the Boston Traveller, a paper which has nobly and fearlessly advocated the Maine Law :—

“*The Liquor Law in Salem.* The city marshal, in a recent report to the mayor, states that from the 22d of May to the 22d of June there were seventy-eight arrests and commitments in Salem for drunkenness, and for crimes of which rum was directly or indirectly the cause; from the 22d of June to the 22d of July there were seventy-two commitments; from 22d of July to 22d of August, twelve; and from the 22d of August to the 22d of September there were twenty-three; an aggregate of commitments for the first two months of one hundred and fifty, and for the last two months of thirty-five; making a difference of one hundred and fifteen.

“The marshal also states that there is a decided improvement in the moral condition of the poorer class of the community, as the reduced number in the almshouse would indicate. There are fewer persons in the Salem almshouse now than there have been for eight or ten years past — fewer by a considerable number. The marshal also states that the police have less frequent calls now to quell drunken quarrels and family broils than they had before the new law went into operation.”

XLII.

Springfield. The State Temperance Committee, in an address just published, give the following testimony in regard to Springfield :—

"The judge of the police court of Springfield informed one of the committee, about six weeks ago, that his books showed a most astonishing diminution of intemperance and crime since the law passed. He remarked that, were it not for the prosecutions of rum sellers, he should have comparatively nothing to do. Arrests for drunkenness had diminished more than seventy-five per cent. Disturbances at night, formerly common, were now of rare occurrence. The strongest opponents of the law had become its warmest friends. No difficulty had been experienced in enforcing the law. A large number of seizures had been made, and the liquor destroyed 'without any disturbance.' . . . Judge Morton has promised some valuable statistics to illustrate these statements, but they could not be prepared in time for publication in this document. He states, also, that there has been a remarkable diminution in the number of inmates in the house of correction in that city."

XLIII.

Lowell. We have the most cheering intelligence from this city. The HON. ELISHA HUNTINGTON, late mayor of Lowell, and now the lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, in a letter to the REV. EDWARD OTHEMAN, dated September 25, 1852, makes the following statements:—

"In comparing the amount of intemperance for those two months with an equal term of time before the law went into operation, I consider it the fairest to take the corresponding months of last year. For a month or two previous to July 22, there was, perhaps, more than the usual quota of drinking, in anticipation of the supply being cut off. Every case of drunkenness observed by a watchman or any member of the police is reported at the police office, whether a prosecution is instituted or not.

For the two months ending Sept. 22, 1851, there were committed to the watchhouse, 110	Two months ending Sept. 22, 1852, committed to the watchhouse, 41
Reported as being seen drunk, not arrested, 255	Reported as being drunk, but not arrested, 66
Total, 365	Total, 107

"These statistics are taken from the records of the city marshal. The testimony of the watchmen and other police officers is uniform, that there is much less disturbance and rowdiness than under the old régime. It is the testimony too of the grocers, that their customers, of a large class, pay better than formerly. Previous to the law's taking effect, in behalf of the executive branch of the municipal government, I addressed a communication to the citizens, calling upon them to observe the law, and declaring the determination of those intrusted with its execution to enforce it faithfully and impartially. At that time there were two hundred and twenty-

seven shops and places in which intoxicating liquor was sold. Whatever has been sold since, has been sold secretly and clandestinely. There is no place where it is sold publicly or openly. The largest restorators were closed up. . . .

"Our city marshal, MR. EDWIN L. SHEDD, who is especially charged with the enforcement of the law, is deserving great credit for the prompt and faithful manner in which he has performed his duty. He has been vigilant and prompt, and I am most happy to say that all our police officers have acquitted themselves to my satisfaction, and I believe to the public generally. I have endeavored to present to you a truthful statement of affairs here. There is good room for improvement, but I thank God we have made some inroads upon the monster evil, and have dried up some of the fountains from which flow streams that desolate the fair face of society."

Lowell Police Report.

For three months, ending October 22, 1851, committed to the watchhouse for drunkenness,	160	For three months, to October 22, 1852, committed to the watchhouse for drunkenness,	70
Reported seen drunk, not arrested,	390	Reported seen drunk, not arrested,	110
Total,	550	Total,	180

Warrants returned to the police court during the same time in 1851, 248

Warrants returned, (including 33 search warrants,) 1852, 186

The Lowell city marshal remarks, "The amount of drunkenness for the month ending October 22 is sixty-seven per cent. less than during the same time last year; and the criminal business of the police court has been reduced twenty-five per cent., (including liquor cases;) and excluding these, thirty-eight per cent."

The minister at large in Lowell states that at his office, "during the same months, the calls have been, this year, one third less, and fewer of the most miserable class. I have made the most particular inquiries in the neighborhood where there has been most tipping, whether there is much difference, and the answer is, 'O, yes, very great! One can sleep at night. There is more peace and comfort.' . . . It is certain that truancy has diminished two thirds in our streets, which is partly owing to the law against it, and the house of reformation, but can also be traced directly to the absence of rum in the family. Debts are better paid, and rents, and store bills. . . . The good effects of the law are felt through all the business of the city except one. . . . Such is the operation of the law, where there is an attempt to carry it out; an attempt proved to be practicable to a great extent, though the unworthy example of Boston is on one side, and New Hampshire, without a Maine law, on the other."

XLIV.

Reports from various towns. The State Committee publish in "The Life Boat" of January 26, 1853, a few specimens of the reports received from their correspondents, purposely selected from different portions of the state:—

Chicopee. "The results of the enforcement of the law have been highly beneficial in our town. . . . There is less rowdyism; the lovers of rum, and those who are ready to 'keep toll gate on the road to hell' for the sake of the profits, have raved furiously against the law."

Ware. "The law has apparently been popular with us, and no desire is expressed for its repeal. . . . We see great good in the working of the law, inasmuch as no open places of sale are now known. We have much less noise in our streets, and cases of intoxication are rare; and when one occurs it attracts attention at once."

Framingham. "We prosecute all violations, and are now beginning to see the fruit of our labors; that is, quietness and peace. We think that the law has gained many friends."

Randolph. "There were six shops in operation before the law went into effect, which they closed promptly and quietly. They are watched closely, and we believe they do not sell any. A great deal of good has been done. The friends of order see, feel, and appreciate the *good effects* of the law."

Concord. "Before the law went into effect our two hotels and one restorator were openly and largely engaged in the traffic. The keepers at once suspended the sale, and have not, to our knowledge, sold since, with one exception, (which was prosecuted.) We think it is only necessary to show a firm, uncompromising determination to do our duty, particularly in the small towns, in order to suppress the traffic. The results here have been more than equal to our just expectations."

Canton. "The beneficial results of the law have exceeded our expectations. The law has closed three quarters of the rum shops in this region. Crime, quarrels, and drunkenness have greatly diminished. The report of the grand jury of Norfolk county, at its last session, will prove this. One great benefit the law has accomplished is this, it has driven the rum traffic into *secret places*. The fact that it cannot be found now without *seeking*, will prevent the fall of many young men."

S. Deerfield. "The beneficial results of the law have exceeded our expectations. As far as we can judge, the law has gained public favor since its enactment."

XLV.

Rhode Island. Statement of the Mayor of Providence. The following statement of the Mayor of Providence tells its own story. We take it from the Temperance Advocate :—

MAYOR'S OFFICE, PROVIDENCE, NOV. 4, 1852.

To oblige a large number of citizens, who have made inquiry touching these matters, I present the following statistics :—

Committals to the watchhouse for drunkenness, and small assaults growing out of drunkenness, from July 19 to October 19, 1852, (the first three months under the new liquor law,) - - - - -	177
Do. do. do., for corresponding months of last year, - - -	282
Do. do. do., for one month immediately preceding the operation of the new law, - - - - -	153
Committals to the county jail from July 19 to October 19, 1852, (the first three months under the new liquor law,) for state offences, - - - - -	77
For city offences, - - - - -	22
	<hr/>
	99
Do. do. do., for the corresponding months of last year, for state offences, - - - - -	110
For city offences, - - - - -	51
	<hr/>
	161
Do. do. do., for one month preceding the operation of the new law, for state offences, - - - - -	40
For city offences, - - - - -	32
	<hr/>
	72

From these statistics it will be seen, that the committals to the watchhouse and county jail, for the first three months under the new liquor law, are one third less than during the corresponding months of last year ; and the average monthly committals for these three months are about sixty per cent. less than for the months immediately preceding.

On the first day of this month, there were but one hundred and fourteen paupers in the Dexter Asylum ; being the smallest number of inmates, at this season of the year, since 1845. The number of inmates on the 1st of November, last year, was one hundred and forty-six, and that is precisely the average number, at that date, for the past six years.

The number of insane paupers, supported at the Butler Hospital, has also been considerably reduced. I have not at this moment the papers at hand from which to give the exact statistics, but I can safely say, that the number is about one fifth less, (the present num-

ber being forty-four,) and the cost of their support the last quarter was three hundred dollars less than the average for each of the preceding quarters. It is true that several were transferred from the hospital to the asylum, in the month of June last; but had not that transfer been made, the present number at the asylum would have been so many less, and the contrast between this and former years so much the greater.

A. C. BARSTOW, Mayor.

SECTION V.

GENERAL ARGUMENTS AND CONSIDERATIONS.

XLVI.

Temperance and religion. One of the marked and uniform benefits of the temperance reformation is its influence upon the conversion of souls and upon Sabbath schools. Wherever the Maine law has been faithfully executed, or a community has, in any other way, got rid of the evils of intemperance, the attendance upon churches and Sabbath schools has greatly improved, and many of the reformed have become Christians. It is stated that of thirty-five thousand reformed drunkards in England, nearly six thousand have become members of Christian churches. In our own country, in seasons of revivals, nearly all the converts have, in some instances, been persons of strictly temperate habits. Those who are addicted to intemperance cannot be reached by motives drawn from the gospel. A distinguished American divine says, "Members of the church of God most pure, bear it in mind, that intemperance in our land, and the world over, stands in the way of the gospel. It opposes the progress of the reign of Christ in every village and hamlet, in every city, and at every corner of the street. It stands in the way of revivals of religion, and of the glories of the millennial morn. Every drunkard opposes the millennium; every dram drinker stands in the way of it; every dram seller stands in the way of it. Let the sentiment be heard, and echoed, and reëchoed, all along the hills, and vales, and streams of the land, *that the conversion of a man who habitually uses ardent spirits is all but hopeless.* And let this sentiment be followed up with that other melancholy truth, that the money wasted in this business — now a curse to all nations — nay, the money wasted in one year in this land for it would place a Bible in every family on the earth, and establish a school in every village; and that the talent which intemperance consigns each year to infamy and eternal perdition would be sufficient to bear the gospel over sea and land — to polar snows, and to the sands of a burning sun."

Can we wonder that the gospel makes such slow progress, while the evils of intemperance rage so extensively around us? Ministers may preach, the people of God may pray, Christian associations

and unions may be formed, charitable societies may be organized and may be conducted with great efficiency, and yet how little, comparatively, is accomplished in staying the progress of irreligion and vice! and how unequal is the contest, while we have this giant evil to contend against! How hopeless the endeavor to bring the whole community under the influence of God's truth! And yet there are many persons who declare that the pulpit has nothing to do with this evil. If a minister has the presumption to bring gospel truth to bear against this specific evil, he is denounced as a fanatic. The cry is at once raised, "Politics and the pulpit!" Indeed, it has become quite fashionable, when a political party takes any of our great sins under its wing for protection, to issue its denunciation against all religious teachers who may presume to disturb the union which has been formed. During the Mexican war, a peace sermon was denounced as a political harangue, and all who did not glory in human slaughter were regarded as giving "aid and comfort to the enemy." Now all the pulpits in the land might preach on peace, and no political party would be disturbed, no editor would be thrown into convulsions. So, recently, when the fugitive slave law was carried into execution, those who manifested any humanity for the fugitive, or who protested against the wrong of civilized, enlightened men being engaged in such business, were accused of dragging politics into the pulpit. And now, forsooth, temperance has become "a political question," with which the pulpit has nothing to do! Pray let me ask, if this system of proscription goes on, what will be left in a few years for ministers to preach about? Why, says one, "Confine yourselves, gentlemen, to the antediluvians and the scribes and Pharisees. Their sins and hypocrisy afford an ample field for the display of pulpit eloquence and theological learning. Be prudent, and do not meddle with the sins of the day; for if you do, you will be liable to 'drag politics into the pulpit.'" No doubt of that! But let me ask, what progress would Christianity make if such advice was followed? What would be accomplished, if all the arrows of divine truth passed over the heads of living generations, and expended their force upon those which had been dead thousands of years? Just as much as would be effected by an army under Napoleon, which, instead of attacking a living city, should plant its cannon and batteries around the ruins of some ancient city — for instance, Nineveh. Imagine the *brave* soldiers drawn up in battle array, and opening their fire upon such a foe! It is true that the shot might crack some old marble slab, or strike down some broken column, or disturb the dust which had been accumulating for ages; but what would the world say at such a display of military renown? How rapidly would the French empire extend under such conquests!

And how soon, we would ask, will "the kingdoms of the earth become the kingdoms of our Lord," if no effort is made to remove those wide-spread vices and systems of iniquity which at the present day afflict and curse society?

XLVII.

Influence on foreigners. "We invite the foreigner to our shores. The genius of American liberty utters the language of persuasion in the ears of the oppressed, and the poor, and the suffering of all nations. And what is the reception which we give them? We darken the atmosphere which they deemed the pure air of freedom with the volumes of smoke from our distilleries; we establish all along our wharves, and in all points of our cities, dram shops of all grades and orders; and we license them by the law of the land, and by public opinion, and commit them often — alas, *very, very* often — to worthless men, who will wrest the last cent from the seaman and the foreigner; men without principle, without morals, and whose only aim is to make the foreigner penniless and drunk; left to curse his own folly, and his landlord, and the boasted asylum of liberty. We invite him at every corner of the streets to become a drunkard; and then, forsooth, we complain, in the accents of most virtuous remonstrance, that Ireland, and England, and the world pour their refuse population on our shores, and seek to destroy the purity of our morals, and the holiness of our liberty."

XLVIII.

Reasons for enforcing the law in Massachusetts. There are special reasons why this beneficent enactment should be cordially sustained and thoroughly enforced in this commonwealth. For this state, from its origin, has been distinguished for its zeal and success in carrying forward every philanthropic and Christian enterprise. Here the first efficient movement in the cause of temperance was made. This state was the first to establish the free school system, the glory of New England. Here the first college in America was erected — the first home missionary society was organized — the first foreign missionary society was projected.

The blessed influences of our Protestant faith — freedom, education, philanthropy — are felt in all lands and in all climes. They reach the refined courts of Europe, the cities of China, the coasts of Africa, the islands of the sea. And shall Massachusetts now falter in her duty, and refuse to crush the monster vice that has so long preyed upon her life, and spread desolation and wretchedness among so many of her inhabitants? Shall we present to the world the humiliating spectacle of executing with alacrity and energy a law recently enacted by Congress, which violates every principle of justice and sentiment of humanity — a law which requires each citizen to lay violent hands upon a panting fugitive, and hurl him back to the dark prison house from which he has escaped, and yet refuse to execute a law that is full of blessings? that comes to give comfort to the afflicted, hope to the despairing, and joy to ten thousand hearts? If we allow this law to fail of accomplishing its noble ends, we shall stand, at the tribunal of the civilized world, as false

to our duty, recreant to the principles and memory of our ancestors, treacherous to humanity and to God.

XLIX.

Influence on other states. On this point I may be allowed to use language which I employed on a former occasion.

Thousands and tens of thousands throughout the country are looking at this moment with intense interest upon Massachusetts. The question all over the land is, Will the law be sustained and executed? Is there moral power enough in the Old Bay State to enforce this noble statute?

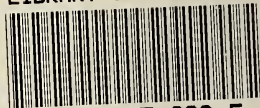
Already have Rhode Island and Minnesota, with us, followed the glorious example of the Maine state; and let us present a united phalanx in the cause, and the demon Alcohol must fall in every state in our Union. The death knell of the monster is sounded. Victories achieved in this contest in Boston, Salem, Newburyport, and other cities, will be to the temperance reformation what the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill were to the American revolution. They will arouse the friends of temperance in every state in the Union. The news will cheer the faint hearted, strengthen the weak, fill with zeal thousands of hearts, kindle a fire that shall continue to burn until the last remnant of intemperance shall be consumed.

When the Declaration of Independence was announced, a thrill of joy went through the land. But every patriot felt that the great struggle for freedom was yet to come; that a nation would not be born, that a republic would not be established, unless every man was ready to do his duty. We have gained our law, and it has been hailed with joy by the friends of virtue, of humanity, of God. But the work of its thorough execution remains to be achieved. Men of Massachusetts, descendants of the pilgrims, are you ready to pledge your lives, fortunes, and sacred honor, that, God helping you, you will execute this law? The question is a solemn one. It involves interests vast as eternity. The battle is one for principle, for humanity, for God. Let us be united, firm, resolute, and the victory is ours. The lightning will carry the tidings over the Union, that Massachusetts is free. The shouts of an emancipated state will go up to heaven. The benediction of aged fathers, and the blessing of mothers, wives, and children, will rest upon you. You will aid in stamping upon this age a reform, the blessings of which will flow down the stream of time and roll over eternity.

L.

Repeal. What means the cry, Repeal? Does Massachusetts go backward in her philanthropy? Does she legislate civilization backward toward barbarism? Shall she decree that the twelve hundred grog shops that have been closed in the state shall be again opened, and the streams which have been checked receive a

fresh impulse, and be permitted to flow on again in their desolating course? Shall we send back temptation to the young, from whose path, in many places, it has been removed? Shall we send back to hundreds of families the woe, agony, tears, and curses from which they have so recently been delivered? Who will take the responsibility of perpetrating such a wickedness? Who, for office, for political capital, or for pecuniary gain, is willing to sacrifice the interests of humanity, and blast the hopes of thousands of families throughout this commonwealth? Is it not fair to ask that the law be tried in those cities that suffer the most from intemperance, before the attempt is made to modify or repeal it? We have seen that, wherever the Maine law has been enforced, it has proved an effectual remedy for the evils of the rum traffic. It has at once secured good order, reduced the expenses of pauperism and crime, restored inebriates to sobriety, and in a thousand ways benefited the community. So fully did the people of the state of Maine appreciate the benefits of this law, that they nobly sustained it at their last election by a majority of 35,535. And shall Massachusetts be behind the state of Maine in this humane and Christian enterprise? Shall we disappoint the friends of humanity in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and in other states, who are moving in this work? Let the friends of the law be vigilant, be firm, be united! Let them not be insnared by the artful devices of the enemy! Let them not be decoyed into the adoption of measures which, under the title of "modification," will take the vitality out of this law and leave it a dead letter. Let this law be cordially sustained and rigorously enforced, and it will be "as a voice crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord." It will be the harbinger of the fulfilment of the promise, "For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands."



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